[GEIDAM]

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differ- 301 ences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

[BEIDAH]

Table XXV

789
*301
*565
*463
*554
*634
441

13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
• 301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and colour their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends, relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike objects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate confection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and henna respectively.

511 In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for ceremonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between £3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £88.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. officials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about £8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not consumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a productive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, labour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

6: Buchanan K-5 (ca. 1952)1953 MS12 Hausa MS12
Tiv FF57
Fulani MS11
Kanuri MS14
Nupe FF52
H 142 144 291 516
T 142 291 482
K 144 291 301
N 142 144 291
F 144 291 301

FIG. 11—Hausa villagers, Zaria Province. The Hausa are numerically the major tribal group in the Region; racially, they show a predominance of suvanna Negro elements.

FIG. 12—A pagan hunter of the Jos Plateau. These primitive people appear to have some Negrito elements.

FIG. 13—Nupe villagers, Niger Province. This group from one small village reflects racial complexity of parts of the Region—tall suvanna Negro, stocky forest Negro, and person of Arab descent.

FIG. 14—Tivs of Benue Province. The Tivs, predominant people of the Middle Belt, appear to have racial affinities with the peoples of the southeastern forest rather than with the peoples of the northern plains.

FIG. 15—A Kanuri of Borno Province. The Kanuri are a hybrid group, of mixed Negro-Caucasian origin.

FIG. 16—Fulani of the Bauchi region. Fulani ancestry is Caucasian, reflected in brown skin, wavy hair, and narrow nose. Today they show results of intermarriage with Negro neighbors.